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THE MOYNIHAN REPORT AND ITS CRITICS--WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON.

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IN THIS CRITICISM, THE SOCIOCULTURAL VIEWPOINT OF THE MOYNIHAN REPORT IS CONTRASTED WITH THE MORE STRUCTURAL APPROACH OF OTHER ANALYSES OF NEGRO FAMILY PATTERNS. THE FORMER EMPHASIZES THE PATHOLOGICAL IN NEGRO FAMILY LIFE, THE LATTER THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS WHICH AFFECT THE FAMILY. STUDENTS OF THE NEGRO FAMILY HAVE NOTED THAT THE PARTICULAR PATTERN OF FAMILY INSTABILITY WHICH THE REPORT STRESSES MAY BE THE BEST ADAPTATION POSSIBLE UNDER CONDITIONS OF SOCIOECONOMIC DEPRIVATION. THEY ALSO SAY THAT LOW-INCOME NEGRO FAMILIES HAVE MANY STRENGTHS AND THAT 75 PERCENT ARE INTACT. THE REPORT STATES THAT THE HIGH RATE OF ILLEGITIMACY AMONG NEGROES IS A FACTOR IN FAMILY INSTABILITY, BUT CRITICS POINT OUT THAT THIS SOCIAL PROBLEM HAS TO BE STUDIED MORE THOROUGHLY TO ESTABLISH ITS ETIOLOGY AND ACTUAL RELATIONSHIP TO INSTABILITY. SUCH FACTORS AS DIVERGENT CLASS VALUES ABOUT LEGITIMACY AND THE CONNECTION BETWEEN INCOME LEVEL AND CONTRACEPTION MUST BE CONSIDERED. THE REPORT, IN SHORT, ATTRIBUTES THE "PATHOLOGY" IN THE NEGRO FAMILY TO RACIAL AND HISTORICAL VARIABLES RATHER THAN SOCIOECONOMIC ONES. THIS ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED IN THE "IRCD BULLETIN," VOLUME 2, NUMBER 3, MAY 1966, BY THE INFORMATION RETRIEVAL CENTER ON THE DISADVANTAGED. INCLUDED IS "DEBATE WITH MOYNIHAN CONTINUES" (IRCD BULLETIN, VOLUME 3, NUMBER 2, MARCH 1967), A RESPONSE TO DR. MOYNIHAN'S ARTICLE IN THE FEBRUARY 1967 ISSUE OF "COMMENTARY" IN WHICH HE CRITICIZES THIS EVALUATION OF THE REPORT. (NH)

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THE MOYNIHAN REPORT AND ITS CRITICS: WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

New interest in the problems of the poor has stimulated an old debate. It underlies the disagreement between those who maintain that lower-class youth lack employability and those who stress that they lack employment opportunities. It is also the crux of the controversy between educators who emphasize the cultural deprivations of youngsters and those who are more concerned with the inadequacies of the slum school.

No debate has dramatized these fundamental differences in orientation more than a now famous government document: The Negro Family; The Case for National Action.[1] Known popularly by the name of its co-author, Daniel Patrick Moynihan (Paul Barton is the other principal author.) the report cites a variety of data to support its contention that the Negro family is enmeshed in a "tangle of pathology" which is the result of three centuries of mistreatment and which cannot be unravelled by the amelioration of social conditions. Thus Moynihan and Barton use the past experiences of the group as a means of explaining some present attitudes and behaviors of its members. In this way, they establish a case for the socio-cultural genesis of present family patterns among Negroes. Several of the critics of the Report, notably William Ryan, emphasize the influence of current social conditions on conduct; that is, they interpret behavior in structural terms. Although the Report concedes that "the racist virus in the American blood stream still afflicts us," the Negro family, distorted by slavery and subsequent injustices, is viewed as the source of the present problems of the Negro community. Ryan, on the other hand, is not so concerned with pathology as with the social conditions which affect the Negro family and are responsible for the poverty and deprivation of the majority of Negroes. He thus maintains that it is not as necessary to deal with the "sins of our grandfathers" as with our own culpability for these problems.

Each viewpoint implies different solutions to the social problem which is analyzed. While the Moynihan Report itself eschews specific program proposals, it is clear that its interpretation is compatible with services to promote changes in individuals and is somewhat deprecatory toward the effects of social change--"unless the damage [to the Negro family] is repaired all the efforts to end discrimination and poverty and injustice will come to little." The structural view, in contrast, assumes that radical transformations in social conditions must precede alterations in individual and family patterns.

In addition to the fundamental differences in approach which divide Moynihan and Barton from their critics, the Report has stimulated debate on other levels of analysis. Some of the published critiques have taken issue with its various working definitions of family instability, such as matriarchy and illegitimacy. These patterns may be less pathological than the Report assumes and should, it is argued, be viewed in terms of their meaning to lower-class Negroes and not only from the vantage point of the middle-class observor. Whether or not these various behaviors constitute a syndrome of pathology, the Report's morbid concentration on weaknesses is said to draw a distorted picture of Negro family life by overlooking its strengths. Critics who accept the authors' definitions of instability and those who challenge it assert that Moynihan and Barton over-estimate the incidence of these behaviors among Negroes--or underestimate their frequency among whites. Similarly, the assertion that such problems as illegitimacy and female-headed households are increasing at an alarming rate among Negroes is questioned by those who accept and reject the Report's definitions of instability or its assessment of the extent of these problems among Negroes. Still others are critical of the authors' tendency to draw causal inferences from correlated variables such as broken homes and underachievement, delinquency, or crime.

The Concept of Family Stability

Ryan has been critical of the authors' "vague tying together of the concept of family instability with a few specific measures of family composition." Certainly, the Report makes little effort to define family stability in positive terms. Rather, it is intimated by its opposite. If illegitimacy is unstable, then legitimacy is stable, as are unbroken homes and male-headed households. With scant elaboration, the document refers to the high degree of stability that has been achieved and is being maintained by the white

1. Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor. The Negro Family; The Case for National Action.

The Moynihan Rep[illegible]	The Critics
At the heart of the deterioration of the fabric of Negro society is the deterioration of the Negro family. It is the fundamental source of the weakness of the Negro community at the present time.	It would be far more reasonable to conclude...that poor Negro families...are bitterly discriminated against and exploited, with the result that the individual, the family, and the community are deeply injured. --William Ryan
Once or twice removed, it [the weakness of the family structure] will be found to be the principal source of most of the abberrant, inadequate, or anti-social behavior that did not establish, but now serves to perpetuate the cycle of poverty and deprivation.	The Negro family is not the source of the "tangle of pathology" which the report attributes to the Negro community. It is the pathological relationship between white social institutions and the Negro community which has bred the statistics the report cites.... --Laura Carper
It was by destroying the Negro family under slavery that white America broke the will of the Negro people. Although that will has reasserted itself in our time, it is a resurgence doomed to frustration unless the viability of the Negro family is restored.	...That damage has been done to the Negro as a result of discrimination cannot and should not be denied. But the Negro has responded to his oppressive conditions by many powerful coping endeavors. He has developed many ways of fighting the system, protecting himself, providing self-help, and even joy. One of the most significant forms of his adaptation has been the extended, female-based family. --Frank Riessman
...unless this damage [to the fabric of Negro society] is repaired, all the effort to end discrimination and poverty and injustice will come to little.	...I am confident that if men can be given a viable occupational role, if family income is sufficient to guarantee a decent living, if Negroes are freed from the material and emotional punishment of racial discrimination, and are allowed to participate as first-class citizens in the political community, a healthy Negro family structure will develop as a result. --Herbert J. Gans
In a word, a national effort towards the problems of Negro Americans must be directed towards the question of family structure....	...however difficult it may be to improve and desegregate the schools and to provide jobs, it is easier, more desirable, and more likely to help Negro family life to do these things than to attempt to alter the structure of the family or the personality of its members.... --Herbert J. Gans If the focal point of the effort is not the family, then neither is the main context the Negro community: it is, rather, Metropolis--its incoherences, its scarcities, and its continuing discriminations. --Benjamin Payton
In a word: The tangle of pathology is tightening.	It is important to differentiate between sudden acceleration of family crisis and relatively sudden perception of a long-chronic situation.... --Elizabeth Herzog

family--despite the fact that analysis of the figures cited in the Report shows that between 1940 and 1963 the ratio of white illegitimacy, for example, increased at a higher rate than that of Negro illegitimacy.

The family structure of many lower-class Negroes is different from that of the majority of whites and is characterized by Moynihan and Barton as pathological. Indeed they assume that family structure "out of line with the rest of American society is a disadvantage to a minority group." In this connection, it is interesting to reflect on the family patterns of Eastern-European Jews which many observors, including Moynihan (in Beyond the Melting Pot), consider particularly well-suited to upward mobility and successful adaptation to American life. Yet, Laura Carper argues that the family structure of most Eastern European Jews which was developed in the shtetl community can itself be characterized as matriarchal, if one uses the same depersonalized methods of analysis employed in the Report.

Especially since we lack sufficient knowledge concerning the meaning of family stability to various groups, it seems important to distinguish between what is different and what is pathologically deviant. Herbert Gans has made the point that we do not know enough about *lower-class family structure* to conclude that it is as pathological as the Report implies: "...it may well be that instability, illegitimacy, and matriarchy are the most positive adaptations possible to the economic conditions which Negroes must endure." The film, Nothing but a Man, which convincingly delineates the restricted roles available to Negro men in a Jim-Crow world, leaves the viewer with a conclusion similar to that of Gans. For example, the sawmill worker, who is a family man and stably employed in a low-wage, non-union job, is contrasted with the railroad worker who is homeless, the probable father of illegitimate children, but his own man. The itinerant male seems no more emasculated by his rootlessness and failure to assume the responsibilities of paternity than the stable man by his conformity and compliance; and one wonders how the man who accepts the white world's terms can possibly muster the self-respect to be an adequate father to his children, a presence as well as present.

Emphasizing Strengths in the Negro Family

"Nearly a Quarter of Urban Negro Marriages are Dissolved" is a heading in bold type in the Report. The authors, of course, could have been equally accurate had they, in making a different case, written: "Over Three-fourths of Urban Negro Marriages Are Intact." And, following their inference that unbroken marriages are a sign of stability, they could have developed the position that, despite all the burdens which the heritage of slavery and subsequent injustices place upon marriages, seventy-five percent of urban Negro marriages are intact. And only twenty-five percent are dissolved by desertion, separation, or divorce. Instead, as critics have charged, the Report dwells excessively on what it considers deviant, thereby leaving the impression that the family is devoid of strength. And, although the document notes that the Civil Rights Movement is disciplined and forceful, it, unlike other accounts, fails to relate this self-assertion among Negroes to vigor in their community and, in turn, to what Robert Coles has called "sinew in the Negro family." The family is thus charged with the problems in the community but is not credited with its strengths.

> ...careful analysis would show that however pathological or disorganized the Negro community might be, the student movement, the continued power of the Negro church and the tremendous "coping skills" generated by the Negro family itself are but a few of the factors that demonstrate the community's great reserves of untapped power and health.
>
> --Benjamin F. Payton

There are resources in the low-income Negro family other than those which have made a revolution. Elizabeth Herzog alludes to the opinions of distinguished psychiatrists concerning the strength of Negro mothers and the fortitude of disadvantaged Negro children under extremely taxing circumstances. That a female-dominated home is not necessarily disorganized was beautifully portrayed by Lorraine Hansberry in A Raisin in the Sun. The Youngers, a low-income Negro family in Chicago, exhibit some of the problems to which the economic and social system exposes such families. It is precisely because he has high ambitions that Walter, the married son, is frustrated by his menial job and humiliated by the necessity for his mother *and wife to* scrub other people's floors. But his mother's mellow strength enables the family to develop enough cohesion and love to cope sympathetically with Walter's instability. Still other signs of strength, as Frank Riessman notes, are the self-help and adaptability of lower-class Negro families. And he reminds us of a basic tenet of any community development program--that people are often moved to solve their problems through an emphasis on "their strength, their positives, and their coping ability."

The Case of Illegitimacy

The high incidence of out-of-wedlock births among Negroes is one of the factors on which the authors base their case for family instability. It is also one of the behavioral patterns for which Negroes are most frequently and severely castigated. Three major questions arise in connection with the Report's handling of illegitimacy:

1. Are the illegitimacy ratios of Negroes so much greater than those of whites, and if so, how can the disparity be explained;

2. Are Negro out-of-wedlock births increasing at disturbingly high rates; and

3. What aspects of the complicated social problem of illegitimacy are indications of instability?

One anticipated difference between a sociologist's and a layman's treatment of a social problem is that the former does not rely solely on customary interpretations of behavior. Robert Nisbet, for example, observes that social problems occur not as the "consequence solely of evil or undesirable elements" but are "closely related to things we deem good." Thus he suggests that the sociological approach may depart from conventional explanations of these phenomena. It is appropriate for a social scientist to recognize that if illegitimacy is socially condemned, its widespread occurrence is a social prolem, but the seri-

ous investigator would have been expected to carry his analysis further into a consideration of what is disturbed or pathological about the various behaviors that constitute a particular social problem. Certainly it is not appropriate to assume prima facie that because illegitimacy is a social problem, it also reflects pathology. One therefore would anticipate some reference in the Report to such qualifying factors as incidence of pre-marital coitus, contraception, and induced abortion, as well as methods of reporting out-of-wedlock births. Further, one would expect a distinction between illegitimacy among unmarried, divorced, and separated women as well as consideration of how high rates of recidivism among some Negro females affect definitions of the problem. Instead, the Report offers a mere recounting of official statistics on white and non-white illegitimacy.[2]

When the various component behaviors related to out-of-wedlock birth are analyzed, one is confused as to what concerns Moynihan and Barton about its incidence among Negroes. If they are referring to pre-marital coitus, the necessary if not sufficient cause of pre-marital illegitimacy, one would expect them to be concerned that roughly fifty percent of the white women from the middle- and upper-socio-economic levels who married, according to the Kinsey research team, had coitus prior to marriage. On the other hand, the authors may associate pathology primarily with failure to prevent conception and birth or with the economic dependency of many unmarried mothers. Clark Vincent, who administered the California Psychological Inventory to matched samples of single-never-pregnant females and unwed mothers found that although the latter had less positive personality profiles than the former, the majority of unwed mothers approximated the norm for females of similar age and showed little evidence of subnormal mentality and/or emotional instability. Among those pregnant out-of-wedlock, Vincent did find that mothers who released their children for adoption had significantly more positive personality profiles than those who kept their children. Perhaps, then, Moynihan and Barton emphasize Negro illegitimacy because Negro women are more likely than their white counterparts to rear the out-of-wedlock children they bear. In which case, one would expect them to explain this particular departure from the usual attitudes of laymen.

Attempts to account for higher rates of illegitimacy among Negroes and lower-class persons than among whites and members of the middle-class frequently emphasize divergent values of these groups. One approach stresses that lower-class persons, particularly Negroes, lack opportunities to prevent conception and birth and failing these, to have their children adopted. Another viewpoint deals with the different values attached to legitimacy by persons in different strata. Few observors maintain that illegitimacy is preferred by the poor, but a number indicate that it is less censured by lower- than by middle-class people. Sometimes the point is made that marriage and legitimacy are valued but not so greatly as other goals. One such goal may be adult status, which, owing to the economic instability of the male (particularly Negro males) is difficult for females to achieve via the conventional route of marriage. It is, however, attainable through parenthood which is incidentally illegitimate. But one would then anticipate that unmarried mothers desire their first children. However, a study by Greenleigh Associates of ADC families in Chicago (ninety percent of whom were Negro) found that ninety percent of the mothers of illegitimate children did not want to have the child but accepted it once it was born. (This particular finding did not, however, distinguish between married and unmarried mothers and between first and subsequent children.) The Greenleigh group concluded, "Contrary to much of the literature on the subject of Negro cultural patterns, these mothers did not accept illegitimacy as a normal way of life."

While the motivations for any behavior are multiple, recent evidence in several fields suggests that we have been too quick to interpret lower-class behavior in cultural terms. (An observor such as Hylan Lewis cautions against attributing a distinct culture to the poor whose behavior, he notes, often reflects a straddling of several life styles including that of the middle class as well as much that is non-class, non-cultural but pragmatic and universally human.) An example of the tendency to overestimate cultural motivations of behavior is presented by experience in the field of birth control. It has often been maintained that the poor lack values conducive to effective contraception, notably a planned approach to life and a belief in the possibility of affecting one's future. Yet, according to Frederick Jaffe, the advent of the oral pill has supplied evidence which challenges this assumption. In one community where oral contraceptives were offered free primarily to a group of relief recipients, seventy-five percent of the patients who enrolled in the clinic in 1960 were still taking the pills in 1964; there were no pregnancies among members of this group, although they had previously been quite prolific. In education we have similarly confused motivation and opportunity. We have long assumed that the poor in general and Negroes in particular do not place high value on education or do not perceive its relevance to economic and social mobility. Yet, a number of studies have indicated that members of these groups have relatively high educational goals but find the school an unsatisfactory means of translating their aspirations into achievement.

Contraception, induced abortion, and adoption, the means of avoiding illegitimate birth or parenthood among those who have intercourse out of wedlock, are best discussed in terms of the discrepancies between Negro and white income levels. According to the calculations of Mollie Orshansky of the Social Security Administration, forty-two percent of Negro, vis-a-vis twelve percent of white, families live in poverty. Because low-income females of both races employ contraception and abortion much less frequently than middle- or upper-income women, a group in which over two-fifths of the families are very poor is likely to have a higher proportion of illegitimate births than one with three-and-one-half times as low a poverty rate.

If low-income Negroes were in fact far more promiscuous than poor whites and far less disposed to employ means of concealing its consequences, the

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2. Non-white is an unfortunate, ethnocentric term employed by the Census Bureau and other sources of statistical data. In 1960, Negroes were 92.1 percent of all non-whites.

community would probably ignore Negro illegitimacy, were it not for the different social problems posed by the majority of out-of-wedlock children of the two races. Seventy percent of white, in contrast to only three to five percent of Negro, illegitimate children are adopted. Negroes are adopting children in exact proportion to their size in the population and in higher proportion, considering that adoptions are concentrated among the more prosperous groups in which they are under-represented. (Current adoption practice is almost exclusively intra-racial.) But the size of the Negro middle class is simply too small in relation to the lower class, which produces the majority of illegitimate babies, to keep pace with the supply of adoptable children. A large proportion of Negro mothers may keep their out-of-wedlock infants principally because they correctly anticipate that adoptive homes would not be available. But even though a small percentage of Negroes give up their children, there are, in some areas, up to twenty adoptable infants for every Negro adoptive couple.

The differential supply of Negro and white adoptive parents and children is crucial to an understanding of community attitudes toward Negro and white illegitimacy. The Negro out-of-wedlock child is more likely to strain community resources, to be "hard-to-place," if given up, and dependent upon public assistance, if kept. More low-income than middle-income women bear illegitimate children, but in any case, a woman suffers a high risk of poverty if she attempts to raise a child without a husband. Negro out-of-wedlock children, who, as a group, are more likely to be raised by their natural mothers, are in turn more likely than white illegitimate children to require public assistance. Thus while there were over 100,000 officially-counted white out-of-wedlock children in 1963 (150,000 Negro) white illegitimacy is tacitly accepted and the same behavior among Negroes is deplored.

In our discussion we have so far accepted the disparities in official numbers and ratios of Negro and white illegitimate births. However, the extent of difference needs to be qualified by variations in reporting. Both Ryan and Herzog list this factor as one reason for the large hiatus between the illegitimacy ratios of the two races. Ryan emphasizes that all illegitimate births are significantly under-reported and that this is particularly true among whites. Reporting depends upon discriminatory white sources. White illegitimate births, he maintains,

> occur more often in private hospitals, are attended by sympathetic -and white- doctors and involve the cooperation of social agencies, all of which work consciously to help the white unmarried mother conceal the fact of illegitimacy.

Furthermore, the American practice of recording mulatto births as non-white exaggerates non-white illegitimacy.

Leaving aside the complexities of determining the incidence and interpreting the meaning of illegitimacy ratios, we turn to the question of whether they are climbing at a rapid rate among Negroes. The Moynihan Report maintains that the ratios of illegitimate to legitimate births among Negroes increased from 16.8% to 23.6% between 1940 and 1963. Although the authors supply data on ratios of illegitimate to total live births, Herzog, who is the chief of the Division of Child Life Studies of the U.S. Children's Bureau, asserts that the only meaningful index of changes in behavior is the rate of illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried women of child-rearing age in the population. Rates, unlike ratios, are not influenced by the irrelevant factor in considering illegitimacy of change in the birth rates of legitimate children. Using rates as her statistical reference Herzog observes a relatively steady rise among Negroes over several decades, but a long-term trend and not a sudden upsurge. Moreover, in the last seven years reported (1957-64), there have been slight fluctuations but no overall changes.

In view of the fact that different statistical measures provide quite different interpretations of the growth of a social problem, one wonders why competent sociologists would report conclusions based on one without citing the other. It would seem that Moynihan and Barton chose the figures which fit their a priori judgments concerning the growth of illegitimacy in the Negro community, rather than proceeded inductively from data to conclusions.

By devoting so much space to illegitimacy we do not mean to convey the impression that it is the only index of instability emphasized in the Report or the only one which could have been similarly analyzed. The gap between Negro and white crime rates, as Pettigrew has shown, is affected considerably by discriminatory reporting practices. Herzog has explored the alleged rapid rise in fatherless families or female-headed households and made conclusions similar to those she offers in reference to illegitimacy: that the increase has been gradual with no net increment between 1960 and 1964. It is also important to note that desertion, separation, and divorce may be more significant to a consideration of fatherless homes and children than illegitimacy. Many legitimate Negro children lose their fathers as a result of the same economic and social conditions which lead some Negro men not to marry. This pattern is reflected in the behavior of the hero of Nothing but a Man, who marries, but, unable to keep both his job and a modicum of his dignity, temporarily deserts his pregnant wife.

Negro Families or Poor Families

One of the chief defects of the Moynihan Report is its penchant for attributing the behavior of the Negro family (itself a misleading abstraction because of the variety of adaptations among lower-class Negroes) to racial rather than socio-economic variables. As indicated in our discussion of illegitimacy the hiatus between white and Negro incidence of a number of social problems may reflect the disproportionate number of poor families in the Negro group. Elizabeth Herzog points out that family structure differs more among income levels than between Negro and white families, and the same is true of the educational achievement of the two groups of children. Further-

I am seeking to show that "matriarchy" within the larger social context of what the report calls "patriarchy" is common to the way of life of poor people. And further, that people living under oppression always develop social formations which appear to the surrounding oppressive culture to be excessive or pathological. --Laura Carper

more, she concludes:

> Descriptions of white families at the very low income levels read very much like current descriptions of poor Negro families, with high incidence of broken homes, "mother dominance," births out of wedlock, educational deficit, crowded living, three-generation households, and failure to observe the norms of middle-class behavior.

Northern white families with profiles like this, Herzog notes, have no heritage of slavery.

Although studies have shown higher incidence of some social problems among Negroes and whites of the same class, it is important to emphasize the limitations of such matching procedures. For example, comparison of Negroes and whites with the same amount of education does not really amount to controlling for socio-economic factors, for Negroes suffer markedly more unemployment and have lower incomes than whites of comparable education. If one wants to make a special case for the Negro, then one might also include other structural rather than socio-cultural interpretations of the differences which persist when class factors are controlled. Alan Batchelder, in writing of Negro poverty, indicates that the poor Negro is even more impoverished in terms of purchasing power than a white man with the same low income, for he must pay more for such items as housing and consumer goods purchased on credit. Finally, the Negro belongs to a lower caste than the white person of comparable social-class status. While these factors indicate that Negroes are more deprived than whites of similar income and education, they are the mark of present oppression rather than the cultural inheritance of slavery.

Is the "Tangle of Pathology Tightening"?

To illustrate their contention that "the situation may indeed have begun to feed on itself," the authors cite the failure of AFDC caseloads to decline in response to the fall in non-white unemployment rates in 1960, '63, and '64. They point out that from 1948 to 1962, the correlation between the two series of data was .91 so that eighty-three percent of the rise and fall in AFDC cases can be statistically ascribed to the rise and fall in the unemployment rate. They thus imply that whereas in the past the Negro male was more likely to support his children when he was employed, he is now failing to respond with increased stability to ameliorations in his social circumstances. Without any effort to analyze the data, they conclude that their possible implications "are serious enough that they should be understood before program proposals are made." It is really shocking that Moynihan and Barton failed to consider other possible implications of this recent relationship such as the 1962 changes in the Social Security Act. As Laura Carper observed in her own state of Michigan, the welfare department, which formerly denied assistance to applicants when there was evidence of poor housekeeping, mental disturbance, or of a male friend, granted aid in these types of cases, following the legislative changes. In Michigan between July 1960 and June 1961, 33.4 percent of the AFDC applicants were denied, compared with only twenty-eight percent between July 1963 and June 1964. Thus the number of families on AFDC may have increased as a result of changes in institutional policies rather than in the behavior of clients. Mrs. Carper also provides another important explanation of the allegedly new response--from 1961-1964, the unemployment rates for young non-white males between sixteen and twenty-four fluctuated but showed little over-all change despite decreases for the total group of non-white males. Young non-white men are more likely to be partially responsible for new cases of AFDC, and as a group they did not experience the changes in employment opportunities associated with decline in welfare dependency. Thus it appears from a cursory analysis of these data that the authors seem too eager to imply that the Negro family cannot respond to structural changes. What they fail to recognize is that there simply has not been a sufficient reduction of "discrimination and poverty and injustice" to draw conclusions concerning the ability of Negroes to respond to changed social circumstances. As Herman Miller of the Census Bureau has written "despite all the fuss and fury of the past few years, nearly half of the Negro men still work as laborers, janitors, porters, busboys, and in similar positions."

"Which Side Are You On?"

In White America, a recent off-Broadway play which chronicled the history of the Negro in this country, concluded with an adaptation of the union song, "Which Side Are You On?" As if wet eyes were sufficient commitment, some members of the audience thought the question rhetorical--perhaps because the play recorded not a single experience of Negroes in the North in the twentieth century. By failing to dramatize the positions and attitudes which are currently discriminatory in the North, In White America lacked relevance for audiences above the Mason-Dixon Line. We could witness with shame and perhaps surprise the obviously discriminatory behavior of two of our esteemed Presidents. But what side would we have been on? Are we so much more likely to choose the Negro's side today than Thomas Jefferson or Woodrow Wilson were yesterday?

Because our air is still too thick with prejudice to see clearly, some issues appear cloudy and obscure. We reject what now seems like blatant injustice--slavery and old Jim Crow. But we find it difficult to understand the Negro's position in present controversies. The distinctions seem subtle but largely because they involve the prejudices to which we are accustomed. Unfortunately, the advantages of knowledge and training still do not insure clarity of perception. It is thus not unlikely that future audiences will deal harshly with those twentieth-century educators as well as social scientists who fail to serve justice. Our good intentions are often not supported by sufficiently objective definitions of the Negro's present condition. We obscure our own guilt by confessing the shame of our grandfathers. We carry on the tradition of underestimating, devaluating, and depersonalizing the Negro. We permit our professional colloquialisms to dignify distorted evaluations of the behavior, performance, and family life of Negroes. And, perhaps fearing the risk of radical changes, we interpret problems which are intrinsic to the structure of society in terms of their genesis in the socio-cultural history of a group.

G. S. Goldberg

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DEBATE WITH MOYNIHAN CONTINUES

The February 1967 issue of Commentary carried an article by Daniel P. Moynihan, "The President & The Negro: The Moment Lost." In that article, the author made reference to the May 1966 IRCD Bulletin. It was suggested that the article and bibliography carried under the title "The Moynihan Report and Its Critics: Which Side Are You On?" tended to distort Dr. Moynihan's views about employment.

The opening paragraph of that article alluded to an old debate which "underlies the disagreement between those who maintain that lower-class youth lack employability and those who stress that they lack employment opportunities." It also noted that this same issue is "the crux of the controversy between educators who emphasize the cultural deprivations of youngsters and those who are more concerned with the inadequacies of the slum school." Obviously, the point we sought to develop is that the document written by Moynihan and Barton, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action,* tended to place its emphasis on problems and weaknesses peculiar to the Negro family with considerably less emphasis given to those problems and conditions in our nation which contribute to the condition and status of such families.

It seems appropriate to clarify a number of interpretations which have been inferred from the article that was published in the bulletin. I would suggest first that the article did not maintain that Moynihan stressed employability rather than employment, but rather that his view of the Negro family as "the fundamental source of weakness of the Negro community at the present time" was not consonant with a structural approach to a social problem. It should be noted, however, that Moynihan's discussion of employment in the report scarcely alluded to the effects of current discrimination on the occupational structure, employment, and earnings of Negroes. Without analyzing these problems, he, nonetheless, concluded that "unless the damage [to the Negro family] is repaired all the efforts to end discrimination and poverty and injustice will come to little." It is hard to understand how he arrived at this conclusion since it is clear that he must recognize such salient economic factors as the fact that Negroes earn less and suffer higher rates of unemployment than whites in the same occupations. Similarly, Negroes often have less employment and income security than whites who have less education. For example, the Negro family whose head has attended, but not completed, college has a lower income than the white family head who has had only eight years of schooling.

Such disparities have led the economist Rashi Fein to stress the significant effects of discriminatory employment practices on Negro poverty:

> I would estimate that perhaps one-third to one-half of the poverty of the Negro today is a function of discrimination today, that is, not the historical discrimination in education, but the fact that Negroes with education are placed in occupations lower than whites with the same education and receive wages lower than whites in those occupations...†

Fein is also led to challenge the popular tendency to emphasize that automation, in turn, a more demanding occupational structure, places Negroes at a disadvantage relative to white immigrant groups who attempted to break out of poverty. Fein points out that Negroes have higher educational levels than European immigrant groups, and that were it not for discrimination, they would not be at a disadvantage when compared with them.

Moynihan's analysis seemed to dwell more with the deviations of individuals and families than with the present barriers to opportunities that inhibit individual and community development. Some Negro families are in serious trouble. This is by no measure a majority of these families. In some segments of the Negro community, social disorganization is a serious problem. The structure of some of these families has been weakened or destroyed. For many children and adults, morale is exceedingly low. Irresponsibility with respect to family, to community, and to self is not infrequently encountered. The existence and recognition of these problems,* however, are not the subject for debate between liberals and conservatives as Moynihan tends to suggest. The existence of these problems is a matter of fact. Certainly, all of us who disagree with Moynihan's emphasis are not infidels. The issue is not one of whether or not some of these conditions exist but has to do with what action is needed to change these conditions. The Moynihan Report emphasizes changes in the attitude and behavior of the individuals and their families. We feel that emphasis should be placed on changes in the opportunity structure and the destructive elements in the society which have created these conditions.

The criticism has also been made that the selected bibliography, which appeared in the same issue of the IRCD Bulletin as the article on the Moynihan Report on the Negro family, distorted Moynihan's views by omitting a number of his recent articles on employment. It should be noted here that the general policy of IRCD is dealing with several unpublished and roughly concurrent works on the same subject by the same author is to cite his latest or most comprehensive work. When analyzing his report, it did not seem necessary to cite, for example, an article which Moynihan contributed to Daedalus on "Employment, Income and the Negro Family" during the same year. (The entire volume of Daedalus in which that article appeared was cited in the bibliography.) It should be noted, however, that when an author has conducted original and largely unpublished research, a number of his contemporary works may be listed. An example would be the several articles of Hylan Lewis included on that bibliography. In reference to Dr. Moynihan, our bibliography did include his book, Beyond the Melting Pot, co-authored by Nathan Glazer.

An additional comment which seems pertinent to the objections to IRCD's general policy about bibliography citations is that the purpose in discussing the Moynihan Report was to explore the ideas put forth in it and to develop a bibliography relevant to them. It did not seem either appropriate or necessary, therefore, to deal with the continuities in the author's views as expressed in a variety of works.

One serious omission, however, did occur in the selected bibliography. The first volume of a two-volume series in Daedalus on the Negro American was cited without reference to the second. The citation, therefore, should have been:

> Graubard, Stephen R., issue editor. Daedalus 94: 743-1179; Fall 1965 and 95: 1-445; Winter 1966.

We should also like to call the readers' attention to arc-

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*Washington, D.C.: Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, 1965.

†Graubard, Stephen R., issue editor. "Transcript of the American Academy Conference on the Negro American-May 14-15, 1965." Daedalus 95: 292; Winter 1966.

eral articles in the Winter 1968 volume which should have been cited separately on our bibliography:

Edwards, G. Franklin. "Community and Class Realities: The Ordeal of Change." 1-23.

Erikson, Erik H. "The Concept of Identity in Race Relations: Notes and Queries." 145-171.

Rainwater, Lee. "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family." 172-216.

"Transcript of the American Academy Conference on the Negro American—May 14-15, 1965." 287-441.

For readers interested in reviewing Dr. Moynihan's work, there follows a list of books and articles written by him that we have been able to locate:

The Assault on Poverty. Harper and Row for the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1965. (With R.M. MacIver and others.)

Beyond the Melting Pot. M.I.T. Press, 1963. (With Nathan Glazer.)

"Bosses and Reformers: A Profile of the New York Democrats." Commentary, May 1961.

"Breakthrough at Ljubljana." National Jewish Monthly, September 1965.

"Changing Governors—and Politics." Public Administration Review, Autumn 1961.

"Employment, Income and the Ordeal of the Negro Family." Daedalus, Fall 1965.

"Epidemic on the Highways." The Reporter, April 30, 1959.

"A Family Policy for the Nation." America, September 1965.

"The Irish of New York." Commentary, August 1961.

The Negro Family: The Case for National Action. Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, 1965. (With Paul Barton.)

The Negro Challenge to the Business Community. McGraw-Hill, 1964. (With Eli Ginzberg and others.)

"New Roads and Urban Chaos." The Reporter, April 14,1960.

"Morality of Work and Immorality of Opportunity." Vocational Guidance Quarterly, Summer 1964.

"An Opinion About Traffic Accident Statistics." Traffic Digest and Review, October 1965.

Passenger Car Design and Highway Safety. Consumer Reports, 1962. (With James Goddard and others.)

"Patronage in New York State: 1955-1959." American Political Science Review, June 1964. (With James Q. Wilson.)

"Pennsylvania Avenue." Journal of the American Institute of Architects, January 1963.

"Poverty and Progress." American Scholar, Autumn 1964.

Poverty in America. Chandler, 1965. (With Margaret S. Gordon and others.)

"The President & The Negro: The Moment Lost." Commentary, February 1967.

"The Private Government of Crime." The Reporter, July 6, 1961.

"The Professionalization of Reform." The Public Interest, Fall 1965.

"Public Health and Traffic Safety." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, May-June 1960.

"The Question of the States." Commonweal, 1962.

"Religion, Race, and the War on Poverty." Harvard Review, Spring 1966.

"A Second Look at the School Panic." The Reporter, June 11, 1959.

"Three Problems." Catholic Mind, July 1965.

"A Tribute to John F. Kennedy." In: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1966. (With Pierre Salinger and others.)

"The Washington Conference on the International Labor Organization." Labor History, Fall 1962.

E. W. G.

(continued from page 5)

Special subject specialists in BECD are Dorey A. Wilkerson, personnel training and recruitment; Sol Gordon, school organization and psychological services; S. Alan Cohen, reading and remediation; Vera P. John, language development and preschool education; Judith Fishman, bilingualism and language maintenance; Leslie Levine, guidance, development in adolescence, and community organization; and Vivian Horner, psycholinguistics and special learning programs.

PROJECT BEACON CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS AVAILABLE

Proceedings are available for the Project Beacon Conference on "IMPROVING TEACHER EDUCATION FOR DISADVANTAGED YOUTH: What University Professors Can Learn from Classroom Teachers." The conference, held in May 1966, was undertaken with the cooperation of the United Federation of Teachers and of the Board of Education of the City of New York. It was supported by the Division of Teacher Education of the New York State Education Department and assisted by the Center for Urban Education of New York.

Copies of the proceedings of this conference are available from Yeshiva University at a cost of $2.50 each. Checks should be made payable to Yeshiva University.